# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" It cannot be imagined, that any bill from hence will ever *destroy the legislative power*. Therefore, " there being no need of this proviso, pray lay it aside."——SIR CHRISTOPHER MUSGRAVE's Speech upon " the Bill for establishing the *Coronation Oath*. See Parl. History, Vol. V. p. 208.



## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.——I am now at the close of the *eighth year* of the continuation of this Work. Many are the subjects which have been discussed in it; but, I can safely say, that no subject, in the discussing of which I have taken a part, has ever excited so general and deep an interest, as appears to have been excited by the subject of Catholic Claims, as placed before the eyes of my readers in the Number of the 9th of this month, page 865.——TRUTH has two great and frequently mortal enemies; 1st, *the power of punishing men for speaking or writing what is true;* 2nd, the using of *a multitude of words*. By the first she is caught by the throat, and strangled; by the second she is overlaid. The causes of her suffering are somewhat different; but the effect, in both cases, is precisely the same. How many, how many many scores, are the instances, wherein I have observed the enemies of truth, when, from the nature of circumstances, they have found themselves unable to succeed by the way of strangle, have resorted, and with complete success, to the not-less-effectual mode of overlaying!——In no instance, however, do I recollect truth to have suffered more, from this latter mode of attack, than in the instance of the Catholic Claims; and, as is frequently the case, the attack has been, on the part of her friends, not a bit less formidable than on the part of her enemies. The cause of the Catholics was so good, the reasoning, necessary to maintain it, lay in so small a compass, and was so well supported by undeniable facts, that its advocates need only have made *a short and plain statement of the case*, and, in answer to the long-winded and bewildering speeches and publications of their opponents, have merely *repeated that statement*. But, from the prevalence of the fashion of much-speaking; from the vulgar notion, that great talent consists in the facility of pouring out, at will, a multitude of words; and, from want of due reflection upon the consequences of never-ending (I do not mean *never-dying*) speeches and pamphlets: from these causes, discussions upon the Claims of the Catholics have grown into such a length, have assumed a form so hugely voluminous, that the very bulk of them is enough to fill with despair the heart of any reader not endowed with more courage than generally falls to the lot of man.——Such being my opinion, I shall not, upon this subject of Catholic Claims, insert, come whence it will, any thing of considerable length, persons, who have a taste for overlaying matter, having already an ample supply in the dozens of volumes, which, at less than half-price, the booksellers of London and Westminster will be glad to part with. Indeed, I should not think it necessary to say one more word upon the subject, except in the way of *republication*. I am firmly convinced, that it is impossible for any advocate of No-Popery to make any answer, worthy of a moment's attention, to the article abovementioned, published in the Register of the 9th instant. But, two or three of my correspondents express a wish to hear something upon the *Coronation Oath*, as connected with the Catholic Claims. Good God! That Oath has no more to do with those Claims than it has to do with Mr. Bagshaw's claim upon any of his customers for the amount of the Register that I am now writing. Nevertheless, as it is possible that many persons may entertain some doubts upon the subject; as the *words* of this Oath are in the possession of so comparatively small number of persons; and, especially as I recollect, that, in the year 1801, I myself, taking upon trust what I heard from others, sincerely believed, that a compliance with the wishes of the Catholics would amount to a violation of this Oath, I will here endeavour to place the matter in so clear a light, that the most crafty shall not, with respect to it, have it any longer in their power to impose upon the most ignorant or most unwary.——Before we go any further, it may not, with a view to perspicuity, be amiss for us to re-

state the question; for, however contrary it may be to the fashion of the times, it certainly does seem consonant to reason, that, before men talk much, they should come to an understanding as to *what they are talking about.*——My Lord Howick's Bill, in 1807, contemplated a relaxation in the laws respecting the exclusion from military, and, I believe, naval, offices, of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects. As the law now stands, the king cannot legally appoint Roman Catholics to the *higher* ranks, at least, in the army or the navy. My lord Howick's Bill did not go to give the Catholics a right to *demand* of the king any promotion at all; but, to enable the king *to use his pleasure* as to such promotion.——It does appear perfectly monstrous, and, at a future day, it will hardly be believed, that the proposing of this bill should have been represented as an *attempt upon the king's conscience;* as an attempt to entrap him, or to enforce him into *a violation of his coronation oath;* and especially, when it will be seen recorded in the statute book, that, three years before, the king had voluntarily given his consent to an act, which enabled him to employ and to promote (without any limitation whatever) *foreign* Roman Catholics, in the army. It is to be observed, too, that this act was well known not to be intended as a mere matter of form, but was to be acted upon, and immediately too, and to a very considerable extent. After this, it does appear monstrous, that the Bill of Lord Howick should have been represented as an attempt to force the king *to violate his coronation oath,* which, if the bill could have produced a violation of it, had been voluntarily violated by the king three years before.—— Yet, incredible as this will and must appear to posterity, such was notoriously the fact; and, it is still fresh in our memories, that the proposing of this Bill was made the ground of dismissing the late ministry, against whom, from one end of the kingdom to the other, their opponents had the address to raise the cry of "*No-Popery,*" which words conveyed a charge of their having attempted to re-establish, in this kingdom, the popish religion. Of folly so completely brutish as this, history, as far as I am acquainted with it, furnishes no example.——From the very words of the Coronation Oath, it is evident, that the measure proposed could have produced no violation of it. We will now see what those words are; and, that we may have the thing fully before us, let us take them together with the rest of the Act of Parliament, of which they make a part, the title of which Act is: "*An Act for establishing "the Coronation Oath,*" and which Act is the VIth Chapter of the first session of the first year of WILLIAM and MARY.

"WHEREAS by the Law and antient "Usage of this Realm, the Kings and "Queens thereof have taken a solemn "Oath upon the Evangelists at their re- "spective Coronations, to maintain the "Statutes, Laws, and Customs of the said "Realm, and all the People and Inhabi- "tants thereof, in their Spiritual and Ci- "vil Rights and Properties; But foras- "much as the Oath itself on such Occa- "sion administered, hath heretofore been "framed in doubtful Words and Expres- "sions, with relation to ancient Laws and "Constitutions at this Time unknown:" To the end therefore that one uniform Oath may be in all Times to come taken by the Kings and Queens of this Realm, and to them respectively administered at the Times of their and every of their Coronation; may it please your Majesties that it may be enacted;——II. And be it enacted by the King's and Queen's most Excellent Majesties, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the Oath herein mentioned, and hereafter expressed, shall and may be administered to their most Excellent Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary,* (whom God long preserve), at the Time of their Coronation, in the presence of all Persons that shall be then and there present at the solemnizing thereof, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury,* or the Archbishop of *York,* or either of them, or any other Bishop of this Realm, whom the King's Majesty shall thereunto appoint, and who shall be hereby thereunto respectively authorized; which Oath followeth, and shall be administered in this Manner, that is to say,

*The Archbishop or Bishop shall say,*

"III. Will you solemnly promise and "swear to govern the People of this King- "dom of *England,* and the Dominions "thereto belonging, according to the Sta- "tutes in Parliament agreed on, and the "Laws and Customs of the same?"

*The King and Queen shall say,*

"I solemnly promise so to do."

*Archbishop or Bishop.*——"Will you to "your Power cause Law and Justice, in

"Mercy, to be executed in all your Judg-
"ments?"

*King and Queen.*——"I will."

*Archbishop or Bishop.*——"Will you to
"the utmost of your Power maintain the
"Laws of God, the true profession of the
"Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed
"Religion established by Law? And will
"you preserve unto the Bishops and
"Clergy of this Realm, and to the Churches
"committed to their Charge, all such
"Rights and Privileges, as by Law do or
"shall appertain unto them, or any of
"them?"

*King and Queen.*——"All this I promise
"to do."

After this, the King and Queen laying his and her Hand upon the Holy Gospels, shall say,

"The things which I have here before
"promised, I will perform and keep. *So
"help me God.*"

Then the King and Queen shall kiss the book.

IV. And be it further enacted, That the said Oath shall be in like Manner administered to every King or Queen, who shall succeed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, at their respective Coronations, by one of the Archbishops or Bishops of this Realm of *England*, for the Time being, to be thereunto appointed by such King or Queen respectively, and in the presence of all Persons that shall be attending, assisting, or otherwise present at such their respective Coronations, any Law, Statute, or Usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Now, reader, do you see any thing here that forbids the king to give his assent to *any measure whatever* tending to relax the laws against Roman Catholics, and especially a measure, which had in contemplation merely to open to them the door of *military and naval promotion?* On what sentence, on what phrase, on what word, is it that craft can affect to found such an interpretation?——Did the proposed measure tend to cause the king to govern the people contrary to the statutes in parliament agreed on and the laws and customs of the land?——Did it tend to induce the king not to cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in his judgments?——Did it tend to induce him not to maintain the protestant religion as established by law?——Did it strike at any right or privilege, which, by law, did or do, belong to the Bishops and Clergy of the established Church?——To each of these questions common sense gives, without a moment's hesitation, a decided negative.——On what, then, is it, that political craft and intrigue have founded this pretended charge of attempting to entrap the *conscience* of the king and to induce him to violate his coronation oath? Why, it is this; that the king has sworn to maintain the protestant religion, as by *law established;* that these last words meant the law *as it then stood;* and that, if he assent to any law altering the situation of the Catholics, such assent will be a violation of his oath.——But, in 1793, the king gave his assent to an act, authorizing him to grant commissions to Roman Catholics in the Irish army, and, in 1804, he gave his assent to an act, authorizing him to grant commissions, to any extent, in any part of his army, *though serving in this country,* to Roman Catholic *foreigners.* Where, let me ask, was his conscience *then,* if to assent to the measure proposed by Lord Howick, be *now* to violate his oath?——There is, however, in this interpretation of the oath, something so shockingly impudent, that I cannot dismiss it without further exposure.——In the first part of the oath, the king swears to govern the people of this country, "according to *the statutes in parliament
"agreed on, and the laws and customs of the
"land.*" Now, when the king was crowned, no Englishman had ever yet dreamed of a law to take from him, in one direct tax, a tenth part of the whole of his income, by the authority of commissioners appointed by the ministry, and without leaving him, in case of over charge, any *appeal to a* JURY, though Magna Charta and the laws and usages of the land forbade that any man should have his property, or any portion of it, taken from him without the benefit of such appeal. Yet, whatever else we may think of this measure, no one ever was so absurd as to say, that, in giving his assent to it, the king *violated his coronation oath.*——When the king was crowned "the Statutes in
"Parliament agreed on" declared, that no
"person, born out of the kingdoms of Eng-
"land, Scotland, and Ireland, or the domi-
"nions thereunto belonging (although he
"be naturalized or made a denizen, except
"such as are born of English parents)
"shall be capable to be a privy counsel-
"lor, or a member of either House of Par-
"liament, or to enjoy *any office or place of
"trust, either civil or military.*" But, do we not now see *foreigners,* numerous fo-

reigners in offices of trust, especially military; and, indeed, do we not see a German general *upon the Staff in England*, commanding *a district of England*, and having *under his command English generals?* Nay, we have, in arms and command, even in the bosom of our country, *numerous* foreign officers in places of great *military trust*. The law *now*, the law since *a few years* past, allows of this, I am aware; but, observe, the king gave his assent to this law, and, no one, however he might detest the measure, ever thought of regarding that assent as *a violation of the king's coronation oath*.——Again, and to come, if possible, still more closely to the point, "the Statutes in Parliament agreed "on," did, at the time when the king was crowned, nay they *do now*, prohibit *any one* from holding any place of trust, civil or military, unless he take the sacrament according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Yet are places of trust, both civil and military, daily filled by persons who never take this test, and to screen whom from punishment a *bill of indemnity* is annually passed; the king gives his assent *every year*, and, of course, has given it forty-nine times, to a bill the use, and the sole use, of which, is to screen from penalties those who violated a statute, which was not only in existence when he was crowned, but which is still in existence, and which was made for the purpose of securing the predominance of the "Protes-"tant religion as by law established." Yet, no one, that I have ever heard of, has, at any time, pretended, that the king, by giving such assent, *violated his coronation oath*.——Hundreds of instances might be cited; but, there certainly is no one so striking as that relative to the employment of *foreign troops*, in England, and the giving of high military commands to *foreign officers*. Good God! If our grandfathers could look out of their graves, what would they say to us? If there be any subject, upon which more than upon any other, they were anxious to leave to posterity a clearly expressed opinion, it is the subject of a *standing army*; and, as to a standing army of *foreigners*, kept up in England, what they would have said to that any one may gather from their speeches against the handful of Dutchmen, who came over with William III. King William was a great favourite; the nation called him their *deliverer*; these Dutch soldiers had come over with him, and had, of course, assisted the nation in shaking off the yoke of the bigotted and tyrannical James II. But, notwithstanding these circumstances, our *grandfathers* would not suffer those Dutchmen, or any part of them, to remain in *arms* in England; and the king never had peace or rest, until he had sent them away.——Upon almost all *other* subjects I have found some one correspondent, at least, to differ from me in opinion; but, upon this subject of foreign troops, I have never found any one, either under a real or a feigned name, to differ from me. Yet, having digressed, I will trespass a little further, especially as this matter is very closely connected with that of the dangers to Ireland. We have in this kingdom, at this time, a number of foreign troops equal, I believe, to that of the whole peace establishment in the reign of the late king. We maintain, in fact, an army of foreigners; The "*German Legion*," as it is called, consists of *horse, foot, artillery*, and *engineers*. The several corps of this army have, each of them, its *foreign commander*. We have, as I before observed, seen *a district of England*, that is to say, *several counties of England*, under the military command of a *foreign general*, which district is, I believe, still under his command. Now, let us consider in what a situation we stand, supposing the country to be INVADED. What are the specimens which we have had of the *bravery* of this German Legion shall, hereafter, be a subject of remark, upon some occasion when it may be proper to give an account *of what passed at the battle of Talavera*. But, as to the question of *fidelity*, ought not the king's advisers, in as well as out of parliament, to reflect long and seriously? The whole of the history of the wars upon the continent, for the last seventeen years, abounds with instances of battles lost, of towns and provinces subdued, through the want of fidelity in the troops of the vanquished; and, I appeal to the reader's bare memory for the numerous instances, in which such want of fidelity has appeared amongst troops who were *not natives* of the soil they were employed to defend; nay, are we not daily told of the desertion of the Poles and Swiss and Germans from the ranks even of Buonaparté, where there is such a harvest of *plunder* continually going on? And, what *assurance* have WE that *foreigners, employed to defend England or Ireland*, would be faithful? They might *possibly* be faithful; but, in so serious a concern, ought we to leave any thing *doubtful*? It will be, and,

indeed, it has been, observed; the people of England have well observed, that no part of this German Legion, or army, is ever sent to the *East* or *West Indies*, nor to any of the king's *distant* dominions. Now, either these troops are *necessary* to the defence of this kingdom, or they are not; if they are not, *why were they raised, and why are they kept up, at such an enormous expence?* And, if they are, then is it declared to the world, that England, that this Queen of Isles, that this mistress of the Ocean, that Britannia, the ruler of the Waves, does, at last, *stand in need of foreign troops to defend her shores.*—— When the reader has taken time to let his blood cool (for boil it must if he has any in his veins) we will draw off again to our subject of the Coronation Oath.——Well, then, when the king was crowned; when the king took the coronation oath, "the statutes in par-"liament agreed on," forbade, in the most clear and positive terms, the committing of *any office of trust*, either *civil* or *military*, to the hands of any foreigner whatever, except born of English parents. Such was the language of the law, and that law was, too, *made with a view to the king's family coming to the throne of this kingdom*, which is a circumstance very material. Let us now hear, then, what the Commentator upon the laws of England says, as to this point.——"Nothing," says BLACKSTONE, Book I. Chap. 13. "Nothing "ought to be more guarded against, in a "free state, than making the military "power when such a one is necessary to "be kept on foot, a body *too distinct* from "the people. *Like ours*, therefore, it "should *wholly* be composed of NATU-"RAL SUBJECTS. No separate *camp*, "no *barracks*, no inland fortresses should "be allowed, &c. &c. &c."——What would Judge Blackstone have said, if he had lived to see the German Legion (horse, foot, artillery, and engineers,) and if he had seen, not only the immense barracks all over the country, but, if he had seen whole regiments of Englishmen with WHISKERS on their faces, and left with nothing about them having the look of Englishmen?—— To be sure, the law has, within the last ten or twelve years, been *altered*, in respect to the employing of foreigners in our military service. I do not pretend that there is not now *law* for what has been done in this way. On the contrary, I know that there is law for it. But, if the altering of this law, this great constitutional law; if, to alter this law was NO violation of the Coronation Oath (and I agree that it was no such violation,) is there yet a hypocritical knave to affect to believe, that the king's giving his assent to a relaxation of the excluding statutes against his suffering Roman Catholic subjects, would be a violation of that oath? Is there, I say, yet a hypocritical knave; is there yet, in the kingdom, a man so lost to all sense of shame, as well as of principle, as to affect to believe this? I will not now believe, that any thing further is *necessary* to be said upon this subject. Yet, I cannot refrain from inviting the reader to one other view of it.——It has been already observed, that, the crafty knaves, whose object it was to deceive the unwary, have raised a cavil upon the words "*law established;*" and, it has also been shown, from reason as well as from actual practice, that those words must mean, *the law as it should at any time stand.* But I now wish the reader to look back to the time, when the above-cited Act, establishing the Coronation Oath, was passed, and see in what sense those, *who passed the law*, understood the words in question.—— There appears never to have been, for one moment, in existence, amongst those who passed this law, the smallest doubt, that the Oath left the king at perfect liberty to give his assent to any act for relaxing the then existing laws relative to any religious sect of his subjects. But, there did arise doubts as to whether the words, "maintain "the Protestant reformed Religion *as by* "*law established,*" would leave the king at liberty to give his assent to any bill for *altering any form or ceremony* in the established church. This became a question; upon this question the leading members gave their opinions; and, it will be found, that those opinions exactly apply to the case before us.——See the PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY, Vol. V. p. 208 and the following.——There it will be seen, that there existed a *doubt* whether the words, "*as by law established,*" might not mean, that the king would violate his oath, if he ever gave his assent to an alteration of the law then especially in view. To remove this doubt, MR. PELHAM offered a PROVISO, by way of rider to the Bill, which proviso was in the following words:——"*Pro-*"*vided always, and be it hereby declared,* "*That no Clause in this Act shall be under-*"*stood so, to bind the kings or queens of this* "*realm, as to prevent their giving their royal* "*assent to any Bill, which shall be at any*

"*time offered by the lords and commons as-*
"*sembled in parliament, for the taking away*
"*or altering any Form or Ceremony in the*
"*established Church, so as the Doctrines of*
"*the said Church, a public Liturgy, and*
"*the Episcopal Government of it, be pre-*
"*served.*"——This proviso was finally rejected; but, the *reasons* for the rejection are what we want to see. There were MR. GARROWAY, SIR HENRY GOODRICK and one or two more who were for the proviso, being of opinion, that it made the matter *plainer*, that it *more fully* expressed the meaning of those who were enacting the Oath; but, those, who opposed the proviso, said, that it was *unnecessary*; that the sense of it *was understood*; and that, *to pass it* would be to *create doubts as to the right of the parliament to alter laws at its pleasure.* Let us have their own words.——SIR CHRISTOPHER MUSGRAVE said; There is no occasion for this proviso. It cannot be imagined that *any* bill from hence will ever *destroy the legislative power.* Therefore, there being no need of this proviso, pray lay it aside.——SIR ROBERT SAWYER said: This is the first proviso of this nature that ever was in any bill. It seems *to strike at the legislative power.*——SIR ROBERT COTTON said: Though the proviso looks well and healing, yet it seems to imply a defect, *not able to alter laws as occasion requires.*——MR. FINCH (who was afterwards Lord High Chancellor I believe) said: I am against this proviso, when I consider it will not have the effect proposed, but quite the contrary. The proviso comes in to help the clause in the Oath, "to main-"tain the religion *established by law.*" Now, these words, "established by law," HINDER NOT THE KING FROM PASSING ANY BILL FOR EASE OF DISSENTERS.——SIR WM. WILLIAMS, who was *for* the proviso, said: When the king swears to govern *according to law*, if a *relaxation to dissenters*, the king may do it *by law.*——SIR GEORGE TREBY, who was for retaining the proviso, since it had been introduced, said: It is agreed to be the sense of the House, that these words ("established by law") do *not bar the king from any alteration.* When you say, the Protestant religion, as *by law established*, it must be with the ceremonies and government, by law established. Therefore, that you mean that the government *is alterable*, is *agreed by all.*——After observations to the same effect from SIR JOSEPH TREDENHAM and SIR THOMAS LEE, the Proviso was *withdrawn*, and the bill passed in its present shape and words.——What remains to be said will lie in a very small compass. I have now shown most clearly; I have now proved beyond all dispute; I have now put it out of the reach of cavilling knavery, that in no sense whatever, can it be supposed, that the king, in giving his assent to the bill of Lord Howick, or to any other measure of relaxation of the laws excluding his Catholic subjects from offices of trust, civil or military, would violate his Coronation Oath. Nay, it must be evident, to every man of common sense, that the king himself *must know*, that, if so to act would be to violate his oath, that oath has been, by him as well as by his predecessors of the Brunswick family, *repeatedly violated.* What a shame is it, then; how injurious to the character of the king is it, for any man or any party, to pretend that he has "*scruples of conscience*" upon this head! These are the *real* enemies of the king, of his family, and of the kingly government. It is *a faction*, and not the king; it is the interests of political intriguers, and not the conscience of their sovereign, that stand between the people of Ireland and the granting of their just and reasonable requests: and, it is these interests, these miserable interests, that stand between this nation and *its safety* as far as relates to the disposition of the Irish.——It is not to be doubted, that if, in the present state of Ireland, Buonaparté were to effect a landing in that country, the fate of the whole kingdom would become very precarious; or, at least, that the whole kingdom would be thrown into the utmost confusion. If, in the year 1797, the landing of two or three hundred Frenchmen in Wales produced the stoppage of cash payments at the Bank, and gave rise to that redundancy of paper-money, which is now, of itself, become a matter of very serious concern to every man endowed with the slightest capacity for thinking, what must be the effect of an invasion of Ireland, that country having, as was declared in parliament, "*a French party*" in its bosom, and *living under laws founded upon that declaration?* Talk of *peace*, indeed, what terms of peace have we to expect, while our enemy knows, that this is the situation of a part of this kingdom, detached from the rest, and containing one third part of its whole population? Can it be doubted, by any man in his senses, that, if, in the present situation of Ireland, only twenty thousand French were to make good a landing, what is called *public credit*

would experience a blow that it never before felt? And, if the enemy were not *instantly repulsed*; if the people of Ireland were merely to *stand still*; what must be the inevitable consequences to public credit, and indeed, to credit of every sort, in every part of the kingdom?——From men of sense and independence, I want no answer to these questions; but, I should really like to hear what men of a different description have to say in answer to them. ——The hirelings of the press in London frequently observe, in answer to our apprehensions with respect to Ireland, that *the Irish themselves do not complain.* Insulting observation! Observation which nothing but the most cold-blooded cruelty could possibly have suggested. Why, what have we to do, in answer to this observation, but to remark, that *the French and the Dutch themselves do not complain*; yet we say, that the French and the Dutch have very good reason to complain; and it would be looked upon as almost disloyal to say, that the French and the Dutch were not oppressed people. Read the Register of the 9th instant; look at the state of the people of Ireland; and when you have done that, you will want no further explanation of the cause of *the Irish themselves not complaining.*——People of England! you have now the whole matter before you; and to your good sense and your well-known love of justice I leave the cause of the unfortunate people of Ireland,

WM. COBBETT.

*Botley, 28 Dec.* 1809.

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TO THE

## INHABITANTS OF SOUTHAMPTON.

FELLOW CITIZENS;—About eight months ago, with a spirit not anticipated either by the friends or the enemies of the measure, you came independently forward with a vote of your unanimous thanks to Colonel Wardle, for his patriotic, firm, and courageous perseverance in exposing a system of gross and notorious corruption in the most important department of government. It would appear however, that this was a service which was not grateful to, or esteemed meritorious by, either your actual representatives, or by the majority of the House of Commons, who, though usually liberal *in giving*, gave Colonel Wardle no thanks, and upon the whole, rather bad encouragement; so that Colonel Wardle can boast only of having received nearly the unanimous thanks of THE PEOPLE of England!——Since the above period, nothing has occurred which at all bears upon the merits of that case, except the admission, before the highest ordinary tribunal in the country, of the competence of one of the principal witnesses brought forward by Colonel Wardle in substantiation of his charges.——But although nothing has occurred which bears upon the case, a good deal has occurred which bears upon Colonel Wardle. He has been the victim of an expensive and vexatious prosecution, for the value of goods *delivered to, and for another*, and debited to him, not in consequence of his written order, not in consequence of his verbal order, but in consequence of his having held his tongue; And the demand was entertainingly enough supported by the witness before alluded to, who was held adequately credible in a case against Colonel Wardle, who had had no credit at all allowed her in the case against the Duke of York.——Fellow Citizens, I will not abuse your attention by pursuing the ramifications of this business further than just to remind you, that Colonel Wardle, feeling the evidence to be what I sincerely also believe it to have been, did, at the time, give a pledge to the People of England, that he would duly come forward with his proofs of its having been so: and Colonel Wardle, fellow Citizens, as I esteem, has honourably redeemed his pledge.——It is not our business to animadvert at any length upon the late Trial; but it requires only a slight perusal to see, that the cross examination of Colonel Wardle, was less directed to get at the truth of the point at issue in the King's Bench, than at something which might criminate his motives or his conduct, upon the past investigation before the House of Commons; and, if the published report of Lord Ellenborough's charge be correct, (which I have so high a respect for him, that I will not believe) his animadversions upon the moral colour and quality of the act of Col. Wardle, in having given 120*l.* to Mrs. Clarke, (which had little reference, if any, even to the merits of the investigation before parliament, where the truth of the facts was the question, and not the mode in which the evidence had been obtained, and none at all to the merits of the cause then before the court,) were irregular, extrajudicial, and a travelling out of the issue; and the impression of which, although not intended, must have been to vilify and discredit to the Jury, upon that cause, the character of the prosecutor,

(who was also a WITNESS,) in respect of a transaction not before the court, and with which consequently it had no concernment. I therefore again say, I do not believe it to have been a correct report of Lord Ellenborough's charge.——A word of our own, now, on this alledged subornation of Mrs. Clarke,—who, by the bye, seems to have brought her evidence to a pretty good market; where she sells the *production* of a part to one, and the *suppression* of the remainder to another: in which traffic the latter buying *refuse*, at an enormous price, certainly made by far the worst bargain.—But the idea of *subornation* is ridiculous. Why Col. Wardle merely bought the production of *what existed* (of PAPERS); not the fabrication of what *did not exist*, that is, of falshoods; and which constitutes subornation. In a word, if there was a crime in purchasing the production of *existing evidence* on behalf of the public at the price of 120*l.* what shall we say of the purchasing the suppression of it at 10,000*l.*——Fellow Townsmen, it is scarcely necessary, now, for me to point out to you, that whatever hostility, persecution, or vexation Colonel Wardle has been exposed to, it is the services which he has rendered you that have exposed him to them. Neither on account of Mrs. Clarke's upholsterer's bill, nor on any other account, would Colonel Wardle's character have ever been the subject of obloquy, but for his attempt to serve you. Colonel Wardle's character through life has been not only unblemished but bright; and we may be assured that those vilifications of it are an attempt to wound the great cause of the country through his side. But even had his private character been different, let it have been what it might, we have nothing to do with it. We must take men as we find them, since we cannot make them what we wish.—— Colonel Wardle's is the second great attempt within a short period made by a public spirited man to serve your essential interests and to save the country. If you abandon him you never will have, and you never will deserve, another. Eight months ago, fellow Townsmen, Colonel Wardle received your unanimous thanks as the undaunted investigator into public corruption: and animated by your approbation he has never relaxed; on the contrary he has redoubled his exertions. Those who thrive by these corruptions have marked him as the victim, whose sacrifice is *indispensable* to their security. He now stands, therefore, if you pretend to any character or any consistency, doubly entitled to your protection; you animated him to the battle, and he bleeds in your service. He is at length not only the Advocate, but the Martyr for the cause of the people.——One more remark, in concluding, which I hope will not be irrelevant. Colonel Wardle's prosecution of the late Commander in Chief stands honourably contrasted with almost every other similar recorded proceeding; for neither malevolent ingenuity, nor cross examination, nor bold invention, have ever been able to disclose or assign any motive but a public and honourable one for his conduct. Not a malicious insinuation to the contrary purport has been even breathed in the air.——The man, and his motives, fellow Townsmen, in short, and more than in any instance I ever heard of, have belonged exclusively to the people; the cause is your own, and YOU OUGHT TO SUPPORT IT.

JOHN COTTON WORTHINGTON.

*Southampton, Dec.* 22, 1809.

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## SCARCITY OF GOLD.

SIR;—I have been an attentive reader of all that has appeared in yours and other papers on the redundancy of Bank Notes and the scarcity of Gold. But among all the various and contradictory, though sometimes ingenious arguments adduced, what appears evidently to me as the only cause of the scarcity alluded to, has been merely once or twice hinted at, and in no degree developed. Of all the writers that have appeared, no one seems more at variance with himself than the "Economist" in your Register of the 16th. In considering the nature of Banking Institutions, his reasoning is in part predicated on assumed data, which are at least of doubtful validity; namely, that the value of Bank Notes is at this moment depreciated, and that the quantity of those notes in circulation is the cause of the scarcity of specie now so much complained of—I shall leave it to others to combat the hypothetical doctrine of depreciation, and confine my observations to the scarcity of Gold. I cannot refrain, however, from contrasting beforehand some sentences of that writer, merely to shew that he partakes, in some degree, of the peculiar indistinctness of ideas prevailing on this subject. In enumerating the advantages of Banks, he considers as the greatest, the power of

substituting Paper for Gold; a cheap instrument for a costly one; and yet he says afterwards, that a nation, so rich as this, ought to have no other circulating medium but Gold and Silver, which leads to this curious inference; that a rich nation ought not to avail herself of all the advantages in her power! He affirms, page 938, that unrestrained emissions of paper necessarily banish specie; and yet denies, page 942, that, to curtail these emissions, would have any effect to recall it; notwithstanding which denial, however, he proposes calling in small notes as the best means of bringing specie again into the country. Besides such inconsistencies as these, he seems to entertain some notions equally novel and incorrect. He makes a curious distinction between Gold, as acting in the office of small notes, or of large ones; and says, that, in the former case, it would be impossible to draw it out of circulation; just as if the exporters of Gold (whatever be their object) would stop to enquire what particular sized notes it was intended to substitute. He seems to consider a depreciated currency as the cause of weakness in a state, and instances Prussia and Austria. Whereas, it is, in fact, only an indication of weakness already brought about by other causes; even as an indication it is uncertain. Witness the depreciation and failure of Assignats in France, which did not at all impair the political or physical strength of that nation. It was, Sir, a want of resources, that made emissions of paper money necessary, and not a depreciation in the money itself that rendered Austria an easy conquest.—To return, however, to the scarcity of specie. It is really a whimsical as well as absurd idea which that writer entertains in common with many others, that the redundancy of Bank Notes banishes specie; that there exists a repulsive power between Paper and Gold; that Guineas will not stay in one pocket, while the other is filled with Bank Notes. Pray, do those who send specie abroad, give as a reason for it the abundance of paper in circulation? Who is it that pays them for thus disencumbering the country of so useless a medium? Or do they do it merely from patriotic motives, and without being paid? No, Sir, they do not. Those who send Gold to the continent have an object in it; that object is, to pay for old importations or provide for new; and, it is very evident, they would in neither case send Guineas, at the risk of total loss by seizure, if merchandize of any kind could be got over in sufficient quantities to pay for those imports. The fact is, it is found to be impossible to smuggle into the continent a quantity of merchandize any thing like adequate to the purchase of such immense stocks of Russian and French products as the wants and luxury of this country require. This excess of value in our imports above our exports, produces a state of exchange very much against England; and, whenever that is the case, specie naturally flows out of the country; and this it would do, if the quantity of notes in circulation was only one-tenth part of what it now is, or was it ten times as great. It is the state of foreign trade alone that has an influence on specie.—The "Economist," however, asserts, in opposition to every individual opinion I have before heard expressed, that our exports to the continent greatly exceed our imports from thence. As that writer and myself differ entirely on this most important point, upon which, in fact, the whole argument turns, I shall offer some considerations in support of my opinion. In the first place, the prodigiously advanced prices which our exports, particularly our manufactures, bear on the continent, shew satisfactorily to my mind, that the quantity is by no means equal to that of our imports, which are here, comparatively, at a small advance above the prices of common times. In the second place, a view of the trade we carry on with each continental country, leaves a strong presumption in favour of that opinion. Let us look into it for a moment. With Spain and Portugal our trade for 18 months past must have been nearly equal as to the value of imports and exports; or must have been equalized by specie. I say must have been, and necessarily so, because, as there has been, during that time, no commerce and no exchange between those and any other countries on the continent, their trade with us must have balanced itself. The same observations apply to Sweden. With the kingdom of Denmark, what little there is, may also be nearly reciprocal. With Russia, France, and Italy, our trade is almost altogether a trade of imports: thus, leaving Holland, including the German coast, as the only country to which our exports preponderate. How much they surpass in value our imports from thence, (which are of themselves very considerable,) it is difficult to say. But, Sir, is there any

man who can believe that merely the excess of our exports to that one country is sufficient to pay for the enormous quantities of hemp, tallow, duck and iron from Russia; and of wines, brandies, and grain from France? I cannot think there is any man, and certainly no merchant, who would take such a magnified view of our smuggled exports to Holland. I consider it, therefore, as established, though not by demonstrative, yet by presumptive proof, that there remains a considerable portion of our imports uncompensated for. Trade being thus against this country, exchange is so too; and, as before observed, whenever this is the case, the precious metals naturally, if not necessarily, flow out of it.—This balance of trade however, is nothing new; it has been the case for years past, before as well as since the Orders in Council. But, until that period (which forms an epoch in our commercial history) it was compensated by funds deposited on the continent by the Americans, over and above what was wanted for return cargoes to the United States.—Who, Sir, is so ignorant of our commerce, as not to know that millions of American funds were annually left on the continent and remitted to this country through the medium of exchange? thereby answering the double purpose of paying our balance there, and an American balance to us.—Down to that period, the state of trade was simply this; we were annually large debtors to the continent; the United States were equal debtors to us; and the continent in its turn to the United States: it only required the intermediation of exchange, and all these balances were settled. The Orders in Council however, unfortunately (and as the result proves) impoliticly obstructed the natural channel in which commerce then flowed, the effect of which obstruction is this: we have still the same surplus imports from the continent, without any surplus exports to the United States, the Americans now incur annually no debt to us; nor if they did, could they pay for it while these Orders last? This, Sir, is a candid history of our commerce before and since the Orders in Council of November 1807.—As I have before observed, it is questionable with me if our paper currency is really depreciated; if it is, the proximate cause is without doubt the scarcity of specie; but the remote and original cause is proved, I think, to be the peculiar state of our trade. But, although the depreciation of paper be not proved, yet the mere circumstance of its being doubtful is in my mind a sufficient cause for alarm. It would not be easy to foretell the consequences, if the idea was once general among the lower classes that the money received for their daily labour was of doubtful value. This point cannot possibly require illustration.—To conclude, Sir, I think from what has been stated it may be fairly inferred, that it is of the very first importance to remove every shadow of doubt as to the soundness of our paper currency; that the most likely way to do this is by recalling specie into the country; and lastly, that as this depends entirely on the balance of our foreign trade, it can only be done either by curtailing our imports from the continent, or (which is more natural) by restoring those means of compensation which existed antecedent to the Orders in Council.—Yours, &c. H.

*London, Dec. 26th.*

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## EDINBURGH REVIEW.

Sir;—Perfectly agreeing with you in the satisfaction which you express at the cause of moderate and constitutional Reform receiving the powerful support of the Edinburgh Review, I wish, in justice to that celebrated Journal, to direct your attention towards a very material circumstance. I lamented as much as any man the fine-spun and most unsatisfactory, though ingenious, article upon that important subject in the 28th Number. You appear to consider the article On the Conduct of the War as in some sort a variation from the doctrines of the former paper; and one of your correspondents has suggested that the two pieces are from different hands. This is very possible; but I wish to observe, that in the very same Number in which the article on Reform appeared, viz. in No. 28, there is an elaborate discussion of the foreign affairs of this country, and the interest which the people have in the right management thereof; and in that article, you will find sentiments as warm in favour of every species of constitutional reformation as you or I could desire to see. The detection of abuses and the repression of corruption among the higher orders is there amply enforced, and a long and striking statement is made of the possibility of relieving much of our present load of burthens by salutary reforms in the management of the public purse. Let me recom-

mend this article, I mean the concluding part of it, to your particular attention. A fuller or a flatter contradiction could not have been given to the sceptical Remarks on Economy contained in the first article of the same Number. Professing my satisfaction in agreeing with the author of the one paper, and in believing him to have completely refuted the author of the other, I remain your constant reader

*London, Dec. 19th.* A. B.

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## OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PROCLAMATION OF THE JUNTA, *dated Royal Alcazar of Seville, Nov.* 21, 1809. *(Continued from p.* 992.)

- - - - - - - - - - - - Perish a thousand times the wretch who can prefer his own interest to the delivery of his country! All such the State will severely punish. Our enemies omit no means which can be employed for our destruction, and shall we neglect any which can conduce to our preservation? There are provinces which have driven out the enemy from among them, and shall not those, who have not yet suffered from such a scourge, sacrifice every thing to preserve themselves from it. Our brave soldiers endure the rigours of winter, and the scorching heats of summer, and nobly encounter all the dangers of battle; and shall we, remaining quietly at our homes, forgetful of their incalculable fatigues, think only of preserving our wishes, and refuse to resign even the least of our luxurious enjoyments.—The victory must be ours, if we continue and conclude the great enterprize we have undertaken with the same enthusiasm with which we began it. The colossal mass of force and resistance which we must oppose to our enemy, must be composed of the forces of all, of the sacrifices of all; and then what will it import, that he pours upon us anew the legions with which he has been successful in Germany, or the swarm of conscripts he endeavours to drag from France? The experience we have obtained in two campaigns, and our very desperation, will consign these hordes of banditti to the same fate which the former have suffered. If some of the Monarchs of the North have consented to become the slaves of this new Tamerlane, and at the expence of ages of infamy have purchased a moment's respite till their turn shall come to be devoured, we are resolved to perish or triumph. The alliance we have contracted with the British nation continues and will continue. That nation has lavished for us its blood and its treasures, and is intitled to our gratitude, and that of future ages.—[The Address thus concludes]—Here was drawn, never to be sheathed, the sword of eternal hatred to the execrable tyrant; here was raised, never to be lowered, the standard of independence and justice. Hasten to it all ye who wish not to live under the abominable yoke, ye who cannot enter into a league with iniquity, and ye who are indignant at the cowardly desertion of deluded Princes, hasten to us. Here the valiant shall find opportunities of acquiring true honour; the wise and virtuous obtain respect, and the oppressed find an asylum—our cause is the same, the same be our danger, the same our reward. Come hither, and in despite of all the arts, and all the power of this inhuman despot, you shall witness how we will render dim his star, and be ourselves the creators of our own destiny.—(Signed) THE ARCHBISHOP OF LAODICEA, President. PEDRO DE RIVERO, Secretary.

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BRAZILS.—PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT.—*Decree of the Prince Regent of Portugal, dated Rio Janeiro, July* 6, 1809.

Governors of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves, Friends!—I, the Prince Regent, send unto you greeting, as unto those whom I love and prize. It being my principal care to secure, by every means possible, the independence of my dominions, and to deliver them completely from the cruel enemy who so inhumanly, and contrary to the good faith of treaties, has invaded the States of my Crown in Europe, and has never ceased making upon them the most unjust war; and as it is, on the one hand, acknowledged that, in such a difficult crisis, nothing can more contribute to the defence of the kingdom than a Government composed of a small number of individuals; and as, on the other, it is indispensable to preserve, with my ancient and faithful ally, the King of Great Britain, not only the best understanding, but likewise to prove to him, in the most evident manner, that my intentions are not different from those by which he is animated in the promotion of the common cause, that his Britannic Majesty may continue, in the same efficacious manner, to succour Portugal and the whole of the Peninsula; and as it cannot be doubted that this glorious purpose, which I so ardently desire to effect, can

only be attained by the most extensive, firm, and reciprocal confidence; and his Britannic Majesty having made known his principles on this subject, and what he judges will most contribute to a happy result, and is most essential to the defence of the kingdom and of the peninsula; I have seen fit to order that you shall be immediately reduced to the number of three, or two Governors, having a deliberate vote on all objects of the public administration, and that these shall be—the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, the Marquis das Minas, and the Marquis Monteiro Mor, President of the Board da Consciencia e Ordens, Don Francis Xavier da Cunha e Menezer, performing the functions of President of the Privy Council, to which place he is appointed by the present decree. It is further my pleasure to direct you to acknowledge Sir Arthur Wellesley as Marshal General of my Armies, as long as he shall continue in the command of the allied Portuguese and English forces, taking then his rank over Marshal Beresford, as commander in chief; and as soon as he shall have been recognized as such, you will invite him to all the sittings of Government, in which matters come under discussion which concern the organization of the army, or important determinations, whether financial or others, which it may be necessary to adopt for the defence of the kingdom and of the whole peninsula; taking his opinion and advice on all subjects of that nature; and should he be absent in such cases, and not be able to assist at your deliberations, you are to apply for his advice in writing, if possible, giving him full information on the subject under discussion, in order that he may be perfectly acquainted with your discussion and determination of matters of the above description. In this manner the affairs of Government shall be conducted with the utmost energy and harmony, as long as unfortunately it shall not be possible to conclude a permanent and general peace. His Britannic Majesty will thus be convinced that it is my earnest wish to eradicate the general vice of difference of opinion between the Powers who make common cause; and he will be made perfectly acquainted with the orders which I have given, and shall continue to give, that the most strenuous efforts shall be made to attain that safe and permanent peace which is universally desired, by means of a grand display of all the forces and resources of my kingdom, which I can only flatter myself completely to recover by the most powerful means and exertions. THE PRINCE.

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FRANCE.—*Divorce of the Empress Josephine. From the Moniteur, Dec.* 17, 1809.

By desire of his Majesty the Emperor, all the Members of the Senate assembled yesterday, at eleven o'clock in the morning, in full dress, in the hall of their usual sittings. The sitting of the Senate yesterday, at which the Kings of Westphalia and Naples, Grand Admiral the Prince Viceroy of Italy, the Arch Chancellor of State, the Prince Vice-Grand Constable, and the Prince Vice-Grand Elector assisted, and at which the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire presided, will form, on account of the importance of the subjects which were discussed, an epoch in the annals of France.—On that day was presented to the Senators, a Projet of a Senatus Consultum, respecting a Dissolution of the Marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine. This dissolution of marriage, required by the two high parties, and approved of by a Family Counsel, at which all the Princes and Princesses of the Imperial Family, present at Paris, assisted, received, the same day, the assent of the Senate, after having been the object of examination of a Special Commission named for this purpose. After having read the contents of the Imperial Decree, which enacts the convocation of the Senate; and of that which directs that it shall be presided by the Prince Arch-Chancellor, and that the Princes of the Imperial Family, hereafter named, should be present in the Senate, the official Journal gives an account of this memorable sitting in the following terms—[Here follows a speech from the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, President, and the Duke of Parma.]—The Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely laid before the Senate the Projet of the Senatus Consultum, and explained the motives of it, which are, that they mutually sacrifice their conjugal happiness to the welfare and interest of their country.—[Here follows a speech from the Prince Viceroy of Italy; after which, the Count Garnier, Annual President, proposed to refer the Projet of the Senatus Consultum to the examination of a Special Commission of nine Members, which was named, and made its Report during its

sitting.]—At half past four, the Senate resumed its sitting, and Count Lacepede, one of the Members of the Special Commission, made the Report, which terminated in proposing the adoption of the Projet of the Senatus Consultum; and also the adoption of two Addresses—one to the Emperor, and the other to the Empress.

*Extract from the Register of the Conservative Senate, of Saturday, the 16th Dec.* 1809.

The Conservative Senate, assembled to the number of Members prescribed by Art. the 90th of the Act of the Constitution, and dated the 13th December, 1799, having seen the Act drawn up the 15th of the present month, by the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, of which the following is the substance:—

"In the year 1809, and the 15th day of Dec. at nine o'clock in the evening, we, Jean Jaques Regis Cambaceres, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, Duke of Parma, exercising the functions prescribed to us by Tit. 2, of Art. 14 of the Statute of the Imperial Family, and in consequence of orders addressed to us by his Majesty the Emperor and King, in his private letter, dated that day, of the following tenor:—'My Cousin;—Our desire is, that you 'repair this day, at nine o'clock in the 'evening, to our grand cabinet of the 'palace of the Thuilleries, attended by 'the Civil Secretary of State of our Imperial Family, to receive from us and from 'the Empress, our dear consort, a communication of great importance; for this 'purpose, we have ordered that this present private letter should be sent to you. 'We pray God to have you my Cousin in 'his holy and blessed keeping. Paris, 15th 'December, 1809.'——On the back is written—'To our cousin the Prince Arch-'Chancellor Duke of Parma.'——We accordingly proceeded to the Hall of the Throne of the Palace of the Thuilleries, attended by Michel Louis Etienne Regnault (de St. Jean d' Angely) Count of the Empire, Minister of State, and Secretary of State to the Imperial Family. A quarter of an hour afterwards we were introduced to the Grand Cabinet of the Emperor, where we found his Majesty the Emperor and King with her Majesty the Empress, attended by their Majesties, the Kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples; his Imperial Highness the Prince Viceroy, the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Spain; Madame, and her Imperial Highness the Princess Paulina.—His Majesty the Emperor and King condescended to address us in these terms:—'My Cousin Prince Arch-Chancellor—I 'dispatched to you a private letter, dated 'this day, to direct you to repair to my Ca-'binet, for the purpose of communicating to 'you the resolution which I, and the Em-'press, my dearest consort, have taken. It 'gives me pleasure, that the Kings, Queens 'and Princesses, my brothers and sisters-'in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son-'in-law, become my adopted son, as well 'as my mother, should witness what I am 'going to communicate to you.—The po-'litics of my Monarchy, the interest and 'the wants of my people, which have con-'stantly guided all my actions, require, 'that after me I should leave to children, 'inheritors of my love for my people, that 'throne, on which Providence has placed 'me; notwithstanding for several years 'past, I have lost the hope of having chil-'dren by my marriage with my well-be-'loved consort, the Empress Josephine. 'This it is, which induces me to sacrifice 'the sweetest affections of my heart to at-'tend to nothing but the good of the State, 'and to wish the dissolution of my mar-'riage. Arrived at the age of 40 years, I 'may indulge the hope of living long 'enough to educate, in my views and sen-'timents, the children which it may please 'Providence to give me. God knows how 'much such a resolution has cost my 'heart; but there is no sacrifice beyond 'my courage, when it is proved to me to 'be necessary to the welfare of France. I 'should add, that, far from ever having 'had reason to complain, on the contrary, 'I have had only to be satisfied with the 'attachment and the affection of my well-'beloved consort. She has adorned fifteen 'years of my life, the remembrance of 'which will ever remain engraven on my 'heart. She was crowned by my hand. 'I wish she should preserve the rank and 'title of Empress; but, above all, that she 'should never doubt my sentiments, and 'that she should ever regard me as her 'best and dearest friend.'

"His Majesty the Emperor and King having ended, her Majesty the Empress Queen spoke as follows:—'By the per-'mission of our dear and august consort, I 'ought to declare, that not preserving any 'hope of having children, which may ful-'fil the wants of his policy and the inte-'rests of France, I am pleased to give him 'the greatest proof of attachment and de-'votion which has ever been given on

'earth. I possess all from his bounty, it 'was his hand which crowned me, and 'from the height of this throne I have re-'ceived nothing but proofs of affection and 'love from the French people. I think I 'prove myself grateful in consenting to 'the dissolution of a marriage which here-'tofore was an obstacle to the welfare of 'France, which deprived it of the happi-'ness of being one day governed by the 'descendant of a great man, evidently 'raised up by Providence to efface the 'evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-'establish the altar, the throne, and social 'order. But the dissolution of my mar-'riage will in no degree change the senti-'ments of my heart; the Emperor will 'ever have in me his best friend. I know 'how much this act, demanded by policy, 'and by interest so great, has chilled his 'heart; but both of us exult in the sacri-'fice which we make for the good of the 'country.'

"After which their Imperial Majesties having demanded an act of their respective declarations, as well as of their mutual consent contained in them, and which their Majesties gave to the dissolution of their marriage; as also, of the power which their Majesties conferred on us to follow up, as need shall require, the effect of their will, we, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, in obedience to the orders and requisitions of their Majesties, have given the aforesaid act, and have in consequence executed the present *proces verbal*, to serve and avail according to law, to which *proces verbal* their Majesties have affixed their signature, and which, after having been signed by the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses present, has been signed by us, and countersigned by the Secretary of State of the Imperial Family who wrote with his own hand.

"Done at the palace of the Thuilleries, the day, hour, and the year aforesaid;

"(Signed) NAPOLEON.
JOSEPHINE.
MADAME.
LOUIS.
JEROME NAPOLEON.
JOACHIM NAPOLEON.
EUGENE NAPOLEON.
JULIE.
HORTENSE.
CATHERINE.
PAULINE.
CAROLINE.
CAMBACERES, Prince Arch-Chancellor.
Count REGNAULT, (de St. Jean d'Angely.)"

Having seen the Projet of the Senatus Consultum, drawn up in the form prescribed by the 57th Article of the Act of the Constitutions of August 4, 1802; after having heard the motives of the said Projet, the Orators of the Council of State and Report of the Special Commission appointed in the sitting of this day; the adoption having been discussed by the number of members prescribed by the 56th Article of the Act of the Constitution of August 4, 1802;

DECREES,

Art. I. The marriage contracted between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine is dissolved.

II. The Empress Josephine shall preserve the title and rank of Empress Queen crowned.

III. Her dowry is fixed at an annual income of two millions of francs, on the revenue of the state.

IV. All the assignments which may be made by the Emperor, in favour of the Empress Josephine, on the funds of the Civil List, shall be obligatory on his successors.

V. The present Senatus Consultum shall be transmitted by a message to his Imperial and Royal Majesty.

The two Addresses proposed by the Commission were afterwards put to the vote, and adopted.

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## CONSERVATIVE SENATE.

*Sitting of the 16th Dec. 1809.*

At eleven o'clock in the morning, the Members of the Senate assembled in full dress, in their palace, in virtue of the Act of Convocation:—His Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire was received with the usual honours. His Majesty the King of Westphalia, his Majesty the King of Naples, Grand Admiral his Imperial Highness the Prince Viceroy of Italy, Arch-Chancellor of State, and their Serene Highnesses the Prince Vice-Constable, and the Prince Vice-Grand Elector, were present. The sitting was opened by reading the Act of Designation.—The Prince Arch-Chancellor of State had the parole to take the oath of Senator. His Imperial Highness, previous to that ceremony, expressed himself as follows.—"Prince, Senators—From the time when the goodness of his Majesty the Emperor has called me to sit among you, testimonies of his confidence have

kept me continually distant from Paris, and I have, this day, for the first time, the pleasure to appear in the midst of you. I am happy in being able to say, that among the benefits which his Majesty has incessantly showered upon me, I have been particularly sensible to the honour which was granted me, of forming a part of the first public body in the Empire. Accept Senators, this expression of my feelings, and my assurance of the happiness I experience in pronouncing, in the midst of you, this oath, which is to me that of duty, of love, and of gratitude. I swear obedience to the constitutions of the Empire, and fidelity to the Emperor."

The Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, President, replied as follows to the speech of the Prince Viceroy:

"Prince—When his Majesty the Emperor and King conferred on you the high dignity, whereof you have just exercised one of the most essential prerogatives, the Senate applauded this act of justice. They congratulated themselves on counting among their members a Prince, whose brilliant qualities excited such just hopes. Now that these hopes are realized by the glory of your last campaigns, and by the wisdom of your Administration, the Senate experiences great satisfaction in seeing you in its bosom, to concur in the important deliberation it is about to enter upon. You shew yourself truly the adoptive son of the hero who governs us; in like him silencing private affection, before the interests of nations. Your first steps within these walls could not be more worthily signalized, than by this great testimony of patriotism, of devotion, and of fidelity. I rejoice in being the organ of the sentiments of the Senate towards your Imperial Highness, and in expressing to you their wishes for your prosperity."

The Orators of the Council of State, Counts Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely), and Defermont, Ministers of State, Members of the Council of State, being introduced, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, President, spoke as follows:—

"Gentlemen—The Projet, which will, in this sitting, be submitted to the deliberation of the Senate, contains an arrangement which embraces our dearest interests. It is dictated by that imperious voice, which apprises Sovereigns and nations, that, to secure the safety of States, we must listen to the counsels of a wise foresight, incessantly recal to mind the past, examine the present, and extend our views to the future. It is under such high considerations, that in these ever memorable circumstances, his Majesty the Emperor has caused all personal considerations to disappear, and silenced all his private affections. The noble and affecting conduct of her Majesty the Empress, is a glorious testimony of her disinterested affection for the Emperor, and secures to her an eternal right to the gratitude of the nation."

Count Regnault St. Jean d'Angely submitted a Projet of a Senatus Consultum, dissolving the marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine. The orator explained the motives of this Projet as follows;—

"My Lord, Senators—The solemn act fully set forth in the Senatus Consultum now read, contains all its motives. What words could we address to the Senate of France, but would be far below the affecting sounds received from the mouth of these two august consorts, of whom your deliberations will consecrate the generous resolutions? Their hearts have coincided in making the noblest sacrifices to the greatest of interests. They have coincided to make policy and sentiment speak language the most true, the most persuasive, the most adapted to move and to convince. As sovereigns and as consorts, the Emperor and Empress have done all, have said all. There only remains for us to love, to bless, and to admire them.—'Tis henceforth for the French nation to make themselves heard. Their memory is faithful as their heart. They will unite in their grateful thoughts the hope of the future with the remembrance of the past; and never will Monarch have received more respect, admiration, gratitude, and love, than Napoleon, immolating the most sacred of his affections, to the wants of his subjects; than Josephine, immolating her tenderness for the best of husbands, through devotion for the best of Kings, through attachment to the best of nations, Accept, Gentlemen, in the name of all France, in the sight of astonished Europe. this sacrifice, the greatest ever made on earth, and, full of the profound emotion which you feel, hasten to carry to the foot of the throne, in the tribute of your sentiments, of the sentiments of all Frenchmen, the only price that can be worthy of the fortitude of our Sovereigns, the only consolation that can be worthy of their hearts."

The Prince Viceroy (the son of Josephine) spoke as follows:—

"Prince, Senators—You have heard the Projet of the Senatus Consultum, submitted to your deliberation. I feel it my duty, under these circumstances, to manifest the sentiments by which my family are animated.—My mother, my sister, and myself, owe all to the Emperor. He has truly been to us a father. He will find in us at all times devoted children and obedient subjects.—It is important to the happiness of France, that the Founder of the Fourth Dynasty should, in his old age, be surrounded by direct descendants, who may prove a security to all, and a pledge of the glory of our country.—When my mother was crowned, before the whole nation, by the hands of her august consort, she contracted an obligation to sacrifice all her affections to the interests of France. She has fulfilled, with fortitude, nobleness, and dignity, this first of duties. Her soul has often been moved at beholding exposed to painful struggles, the heart of a man accustomed to conquer fortune, and advance with a firm step to the accomplishment of his great designs. The tears which this resolution has cost the Emperor, suffice for the honour *(a la gloire)* of my mother.—In the situation she will now fill, she will be no stranger, by her wishes, and her feelings, to the new prosperities which await us: with a satisfaction mingled with pride, that she will behold the happiness her sacrifices will produce to her country and to her Emperor."

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FRANCE.—*Exposé of the State of the French Empire, to the 1st of December* 1809.

*Paris, Dec.* 13.—In the Sitting of yesterday, M. Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior, pronounced the following *Exposé* of the Empire, to the 1st of December, 1809:

Messieurs: Every time that the situation of the empire has been stated to you, the French nation has reckoned new triumphs. Brilliant victories, generous treaties of peace, the results of the most profound political combinations, great works undertaken, the order of the interior maintained—such is the picture that all my predecessors have had to trace, and it is that which forms the history of the year that has just elapsed.—The return of this enumeration of prosperities, acquires every day a more glorious character.—The memorable facts of one year may appertain to fortune, to what is called chance, to a will of which nothing has yet shewn the force, or the constancy, the weakness, or the versatility; but those which return perpetually, the same are necessarily the work of a genius and an arm equally powerful. The former may transitorily appertain to any time; the others fix those eras which divide the course of ages, and which subject a long series of years to every epoch which changes the face of the world.—In the course of the last session you had concurred to give a new criminal code to France, and, adopting the plans prepared by the Council of State, and immediately under the eyes of his Majesty, the necessary source of all laws; and then the Emperor himself, as he had announced to you, had replaced on the throne of Madrid his august brother; he forced the English to precipitate themselves towards their ships, and only ceased to pursue them, that he might return to the centre of his dominions, to observe and arrest the projects of Austria.

PUBLIC WORKS.

The stay which his Majesty then made at Paris was distinguished by the care which he took to regulate all the parts of the vast administration of his empire. His orders gave a new activity to the immense labours, which no period of peace ever saw undertaken in such great numbers, nor followed with so much ardour. Prisoners of war, from different nations, sent by victory, have finished the canal of St. Quintin. Two leagues of an imposing subterraneous passage open a communication between the rivers and seas of the north of the empire, and the rivers and seas of the south.—Seven thousand workmen have not ceased to labour on the Canal of the North, and nearly eight leagues of this new way opened to the Rhine, and the Meuse, to bring their conjoined waters to Antwerp, without quitting for a moment the soil of France, have been executed. This canal, so important to commerce, will not be a less benefit to agriculture; lands equal in superficies to several departments, will be peopled and fertilised. The peaceable conquests of agriculture will soon augment both our riches and our prosperity.—Two millions have been usefully expended, in 1809, on the Canal of Napoleon, which will unite the Rhone to the Rhine. Marseilles, Cologn, and Antwerp, will soon be washed by the same waters. This canal will be made to

communicate with the Seine, by that of Burgundy, the works of which, abandoned by the old government, have received anew the greatest impulse: already the navigation is complete from Dole to Dijon; they are at present working between Dijon and the bridge of Pany, between the Yonne and Saint Florentin.—Several important locks upon the Seine, the Aube, and the Somme, have been finished in 1809. Every where the plans which tended to improve former navigations, to extend them, or to create new ones, have been undertaken, or continued with activity.—The maritime works have made the greatest progress. Those of Cherburg already present to the astonished eye an immense port hollowed out of the rock. Its depth has been this year carried to 33 feet below the level of high-water. It is defended by a pier, the execution of which has been as perfect as the idea has been bold.—Facings of granite give to the port and its quays the most imposing character of grandeur and duration; the excavations will descend sixteen feet lower, so that there will remain in the port of Cherburg 26 feet water at low water.—The sluice at Havre is nearly finished; it will secure, from the middle of the next campaign, the constant entrance of vessels into the channel. At Dunkirk, an octagon sluice, which will drain valuable lands, and secure an easy navigation, has been finished this year. The basin of Antwerp is excavated in all the interior part, and the sluice of the sea is raised above its foundations. The port of Cette has been deepened. The port of Marseilles offers a more easy anchorage than ever.—The roads of Mount Cenis, of the Simplon, those which traverse the Alps, the Apennines, and the Pyrenees, in every direction, have received a new degree of advancement, or are completed. Roads, equally beautiful and easy, lead from Alexandria to Savona; from the banks of the Tanaro and the Po, to the nearest shores of the Mediterranean.—The grand drainings of Bourgoin, of Cotentin, and Rochefort, have already changed sterile marshes into fertile lands, and their results have drawn upon the Government the blessings of the people, astonished at not having suffered any of the evils, however transitory, which they had been made to dread.

WORKS OF PARIS.

Paris becomes every day, by its works, more worthy of being the metropolis of one of those empires, around which are grouped, in the history of the times, all that is contemporaneous. In its vicinity, the bridges of Bezons, Choisy, and Sevres, have been begun; that of Charenton has been re-established; that of St. Cloud, restored. The beautiful bridge of Jena has been conducted to the raising of the arches; that of Saint Michael has been freed from the houses that obstructed it; the Quay Napoleon, and the Louvre, have been finished; that of Jena has been carried beyond the esplanade of the invalids; the port of la Rapé has been executed on a great and beautiful plan. Plentiful granaries have been founded. Every disposition for the construction of an immense abattoir has been made near the barrier of Rochechouard; the ground is levelled, and the foundation prepared.—A provisory establishment for an exchange has been formed, till the time when the magnificent edifice intended for the purpose, and which is already begun, will be finished.—The Temple of Glory occupies a great number of workmen: it will be worthy of its noble destination. Four massy pillars, faced with a stone equal in hardness and grain to the finest marble, intended to support the triumphal arch of l' Etoile, are nearly completed.—The Column of Austerlitz is adorned, for half its height, with bronzes, which will eternize the great achievements of our warriors. The arch of the Carousel, which is finished, unites taste and magnificence. The façade of the building in which you meet is finished. The Louvre displays new beauties in the rapid progress of its restoration; the gallery which will complete its junction with the Thuilleries, astonishes, by its progress, the inhabitants even of this city.—Already the capital enjoys a part of the waters which will be



DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

It is to be observed, that this sheet, which is the last of Volume XVI., should *not be cut open* by the Reader, but should be left to the Book-binder, who will perceive that the first half, viz. p. 1025 to 1040, (of which this page makes a part,) comes at the *end*, and that the rest of the sheet, containing the Title Page and Table of Contents, &c. &c. is to be cut off, and placed at the *beginning* of the Volume.

SUPPLEMENT to No. 26. VOL. XVI.—Price 1s.

brought to it by the canal of Ourcq; while the basin of La Villette, and the fountain of Innocents, present to it works as beautiful as they are useful.—In this long enumeration, I am only able to point out the least part of the works completed or continued in the course of this year; but each of you is witness to their developement, since there is not a part of France to which they do not extend, Among these grand constructions, there are some more particularly consecrated to public order and benevolence.

ESTABLISHMENTS OF BENEVOLENCE.

The Emperor has ordered the establishment of forty-two depots of mendicity, and secured to them the necessary funds for their maintenance. Thus will be healed the most hideous wounds of policied States; thus the public manners and industry will profit by a regulation which will snatch from misery and depravity a number of beings, who seemed condemned to them without resource. Several of these establishments have already been completed.—His Majesty has bestowed immense benefits on those of his subjects who have suffered great calamities. The banks of the Rhine had been ravaged by inundations; the inhabitants have received nearly a million, either for indemnities, or to be employed in reparations, and useful labours.—The countries which have suffered by storms, or fire, have received succours. His paternal care has furnished a great number of cities with supplies of bark, which they have punctually received.—Depots for Vaccination have been established; they secure to families the certain means of never wanting an invaluable preservative, which useful and true friends of humanity have made known to all the classes of our numerous population.—Among those of the wants of the French, which have fixed the attention of the Sovereign, the cultivation of the moral qualities, that of the mind, that of the arts of imagination, have continued to hold one of the first rank.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The Imperial University has entered on its functions. It has collected information concerning all the houses of education in the empire. Academies are forming, the faculties establishing. The Lyceums continue to furnish numerous pupils to the Polytechnic School and that of St. Cyr. The former has always been the nursery of persons distinguished by their knowledge and their conduct. At St. Cyr is perpetually renewed that hardy race of youth, equally well exercised, courageous, and zealous; who, when they arrive under their standards, will shew themselves worthy to march with our ancient heroes.

SCIENCES, LITERATURE, AND ARTS.

Every species of encouragement is given to the Sciences, to Literature, and to the Arts. Honours, rewards, useful employments, confided to Artists that distinguish themselves, nothing is neglected. But the first of those memorable epochs, formed to exalt the noblest emulations, is arrived: the decennial prizes are about to be distributed by the hand of him, who is the fountain of all true glory. They would have been distributed, this day, could the Jury have completed their labours. His Majesty wished no species of merit, whether literary, or belonging to the sciences and arts, to be unrewarded. The Decree of 24th Fructidor, of the year 12, has been regarded by the Emperor merely as an expression of a general sentiment. That sentiment has just received a full developement by a late Decree, augmenting the number of prizes. New examinations and new adjudications are become necessary. The Emperor wishes to be certain, that they shall express the sentiment of an enlightened public opinion; and, to acquire this certainty, he has ordered that the works honoured by these adjudications, be subjected to a solemn discussion; a distinction highly flattering to those whose works are judged worthy of the prizes.—The Museum of Natural History has been increased; that of the Arts has received new riches by the acquisition of the *chefs d'œuvre* of the Borghese Gallery.

AGRICULTURE.

The propagation of the culture of improved wool has made new advances, arising in a great measure from the importations of Spanish and German flocks.—Twenty thousand choice mares have been presented to the twelve hundred stallions collected in our studs and depôts. Premiums have been distributed to the proprietors of the finest breeds.—The cultivation of cotton in our Southern Provinces has hitherto afforded nothing but hopes. These have not been destroyed by the two extraordinary seasons of 1808 and 1809; and that is a great point gained.—Attempts have been made to naturalize indigo.—France produces grain and wine far be-

yond her consumption. As to wine of the first quality, this has been a well-known fact. But our dependence on foreign countries for grain has always been considered as an established truth. How valuable then the experiment we are now making.—Some districts indeed find it impossible to sell their corn. This is a momentary misfortune; but what a source of security for the future! The scarcities most frequently depended merely on opinion: it was only requisite to enlighten this, and France, henceforth secure of producing an excess beyond her consumption, can no longer be in fear of want.—The Emperor has, however, devoted all his solicitude to the present circumstances. Exportation of corn is permitted from a great number of points of our frontiers, both maritime and terrestrial, provided always, that the price exceed not certain rates in the neighbouring markets.

MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRY.

Industry increases the value of raw materials by manual labour, and frequently in proportions that may be termed infinite. It has constantly occupied the attention of government. But here the effect of authority cannot be a direct influence. Encouragements granted, modifications introduced into the tarifs of the custom-houses, whether national or foreign, such are its means, and such have been its measures. It has further watched, with redoubled care, over the school of arts and trades at Chalons, of which the good effects continue to be felt.—M. Richard, Messrs. Ternaux, M. Oberkampt, M. de Neuflize, and many others, have continued, in their valuable establishments, a degree of activity, an organization, and means of improvement, which render them worthy to be cited. They do honour to the nation, and contribute to its prosperity.

MINES.

The mines conceal riches, which, without industry, would remain buried in the earth. A legislation for the mines, positive and clear, will be completed in the course of your session. Means for deriving from it the earliest benefits are prepared. France possesses a great number of valuable coal-mines, which secure us from all fear of ever wanting fuel.—Mines of copper, lead, and silver, are now working: others are objects of search and experiment.

COMMERCE.

Commerce is employed generally in deriving the greatest possible advantage from the products of agriculture and labour. Ours undoubtedly suffers from the extraordinary state of affairs, which, forming as it were two masses, one of the Continent of Europe, the other of the seas, and the countries from which those seas divide us, leaves them without any permitted communication. Nevertheless, the home consumption, in which a much larger number of individuals participate, since plenty *(l'aisance)* is known to classes hitherto strangers to it, and our connections with our neighbours maintain a great activity in a trade of barter. Our connections with the United States of America are suspended; but, formed by mutual wants, they will soon resume their course. Lyons beholds the prosperity of her manufactures revive, and receives the orders of Germany, Russia, and the interior.—Naples furnishes us cotton, which her soil daily produces with increasing abundance, and which diminishes the more distant importations.

FINANCES.

The connection of commerce with public credit, will naturally lead your attention to a phenomenon which strikes us less at present, because each year re-produces it: the exactness of all payments, without new contributions, without loans, without anticipations, and in the midst of a war for which, at any other time, the most extraordinary efforts would have appeared below what such enterprizes required; the admirable effect of the simplicity of springs and movements of a rigorous order; and the exactness of calculations, into which his Majesty has not disdained to enter himself. The register of landed property is continued: its advantages are found in the sub-repartition of a great number of cantons and communes; we shall soon derive from it the general amelioration of the land tax, and the just proportion of the contribution to the products.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERIOR, AND JUSTICE.

The Administration of the Interior, in 1809, has followed the same progress as in the preceding years. Order and tranquillity have been maintained; justice has been promptly and equitably administered; the name of the Emperor has been blessed in the bosoms of families, rendered happy by interior peace. The departments of Tuscany have received the benefits of general organisation.

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

The Government, in its respect for conscience, has not deviated from the line

which it had traced out to itself. Its principles, with respect to religion, have had their application, this year, as in the preceding. It does not confine itself to the toleration of all kinds of religious forms of worship, it honours and encourages them. The different sects of Christianity, founded on the morality of the Gospel, are all useful to society. The Lutherans of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, whose number amounts to 6,000, had no temple, and, from time immemorial, exercised their worship in the Swedish chapel. Their church has been acknowledged; their Ministers have been appointed by the Emperor, and are maintained at the expence of the State.—A School of Calvinistic Theology has been established at Montauban.—As to the religion which is that of the Emperor, of the Royal Family, and of the immense majority of the French, it has been the object of the most assiduous cares of Government. New seminaries have been formed; in all, funds have been created for the youth destined for the church; the edifices for public worship have been repaired; and the number of *succursales* augmented. The public treasury, by taking on itself to pay the Ministers, has honourably exonerated them from being dependent on the Communes. A subsistence has been secured, with liberality, to Curates and Ministers, when age and infirmities may render them necessary. In fine, his Majesty has summoned several Archbishops and Bishops to the Senate and Council of the University. He proposes to summon them to his Privy Council (Conseil d'Etat.)—His Majesty has had some differences with the Sovereign of Rome, as a Temporal Sovereign. Constant in his resolutions, the Emperor has defended the rights of his crown, and of his people. He has done what is required by the great political system which is regenerating the West; but without touching spiritual principles.—Every one knows the evils caused to religion, by the temporal sovereignty of the Pope! Without this, half Europe would not be separated from the Catholic Church.—There was but one mean of saving her for ever from such great dangers, and of reconciling the interests of the State, with those of religion. It was needful that the successor of St. Peter should be a pastor like St. Peter, who, solely occupied with the salvation of souls, and with spiritual interests, might cease to be agitated by worldly ideas, by pretensions to sovereignty, and by disputes concerning boundaries, territories, and provinces.—'Tis a benefit, then, to separate religion from what is a stranger to her, and to have replaced her in her state of evangelical purity.—This Concordat, which established the religion of France, was faithfully observed; nay, the Emperor went beyond his engagements. The Pope should, therefore, have on his part also fulfilled its conditions.—Whenever no personal blame attached to the Archbishops and Bishops, named by the Emperor, he should have installated them without delay. This condition not being complied with, the Concordat became void, and we were replaced in the same situation as we were previous to the Concordat of Francis I. and Leo X.; this situation or regimen is founded on the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis, so much regretted by our churches, by the College of Paris, and by the Parliaments.—Incendiary writings and bulls, inspired by ignorance, and the most criminal dereliction of the principles of religion, were hawked about in different parts of the empire. These productions were every where received with contempt and disgust. The facts spoke too loud for themselves; thirty millions of Frenchmen, eighteen millions of Italians, and so many people on the banks of the Vistula, the Elbe and the Rhine, bear witness to the solicitude with which the French Government protects the religion of our fathers.—The foresight and wisdom of our ancestors sheltered us from the infringements of Gregory VII. and of those who cherish his opinions. The Sorbonne, the College of Paris, and the Gallican church, never acknowledged any of those monstrous principles.—Kings are only accountable to God; and the Pope must, according to the principles of Jesus Christ, give, like others, to Cæsar, what is due to Cæsar. The temporal crown and the sceptre of this world were not put into his hands by him whose will it was that he should call himself the servant of the servants of God, and who recommended to him at all times, charity and humility.—As ignorance favours fanaticism, his Majesty has ordered, that the principles of the College of Paris, and of the declaration of the Clergy of 1682, shall be taught in the seminaries. He wished to oppose the influence of a sound doctrine to the tendency of the weakness of man, which induces him to turn the most sacred things to the advantage of the vilest interests.—His Majesty has done much for religion; his

intention is to do still more; and, according as the thirty millions of ecclesiastic pensions become extinct, he intends to devote that sum to the benefit of the church. One sole obligation has been imposed by the Divine Law, which is, that priests should live by the altar, and be attentive to such things only as concern their holy functions.

WAR.

While the Emperor was thus preparing all the improvements, which every year of his reign secures to France: while the annual execution of the laws, which relate to the conscription, without any difficulty or obstruction, kept our legions complete; our enemies, who are his, were about to try his gigantic efforts. But we have already called it to your recollection, that shortly after having opened your Session of 1808, the Emperor defeated the Spanish armies, entered Madrid, and placed his brother on the throne. By a sudden and skilful march he induced the English troops to advance, and then pursued them without allowing the least breathing time to the frontiers of Gallicia, made a great number of prisoners, and took their hospitals, baggage and ammunition. He then obtained the knowledge of the treaty, by which the Court of Vienna engaged to supply the Juntas of the insurgents with 100,000 stands of arms. He also learned that Austria was taking up arms, and that her armaments had already spread the utmost consternation through the States of the Confederacy. He immediately suspended his triumphant march, left his armies in Spain, and thought that his presence would be sufficient to destroy his enemies.—Surely, his Majesty never gave to Europe a more striking proof of the greatness of his character, and the power of his genius. Eighty regiments of those veteran troops, who had conquered at Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, remained in Spain, and he put himself at the head of the troops of his allies, and his recruits.—You recollect, Gentlemen, the uneasiness, which we all felt, and which gained so much ground, when Europe supposed, for a moment, that a nation, which had been so frequently defeated, and which owed its existence to the generosity of our Sovereign, would defeat our allies, and penetrate into our territory. The Emperor of Austria, with an army of 500,000 men, the prodigious and miraculous effort of paper money, fancied he was marching to a certain victory. Bavaria and Italy were invaded, without any declaration of war, and men were slain without knowing that they had enemies to combat; a conduct, which will be branded with the severest censure by posterity.—The Emperor left Paris on the 18th without guards, without equipage, and without troops; his armies, hastily assembled from the different parts of Germany, fled astonished at the unforeseen aggression, and at the multitude of enemies who surrounded them on all sides. Ratisbon had been taken, with one of the finest regiments of the army; but the news of his Majesty's arrival reached the troops, and flew through all the ranks. The Emperor having, by his accustomed manœuvres, separated two corps of the enemy's army, and beaten them on the 20th, near Abensberg; on the 21st he marched against Landshut, rendered himself master of that town and of the bridge across the Iser, the head-quarters and central point of the enemy's operations; intercepted by this movement the communication of the enemy's army, and took his baggage, his pontoons, and his hospitals. On the 22d, he marched to Eckmuhl, turned the left of the Archduke Charles's army, reduced to four corps by the separation of the two others, routed that army, took 30,000 prisoners with two pieces of cannon, and the same evening arrived in the plain of Ratisbon, where he rested in the head-quarters of Prince Charles. On the 23d, he closely pursued the enemy, destroyed the Austrian horse, and took Ratisbon and the 12,000 men whom the enemy had left in that place. —In 48 hours, the Austrian army, struck as it were by a thunderbolt, saw its fate decided. Of six corps, which composed it, each 40,000 strong, five were already defeated, reduced to half their number, and separated from each other. The remains of the four corps were driven to the Danube, and the two others to the Inn, without bridges, without magazines, and without hospitals. The rumour of these disasters soon reached the ears of the Sovereign of Austria, and in less than two days the most profound consternation succeeded the most foolish presumption. In the mean time the 8th and 9th corps, which formed the Austrian army of Italy, had surprised our troops, who were far from expecting such treacherous proceedings, blockaded Palma Nova and Venice, and reached, on the 28th of April, the Adige.—The Emperor's plan was no longer doubtful; af-

ter having defeated the grand army of the Archduke Charles, and driven four of his corps to Bohemia, he pursued the two corps, which fell back to the Inn, marched to Salzburgh, Lintz, Upper Austria, and Styria, in order to turn the Austrian army of Italy, and secure his own army and his dominions in Italy, which are so dear to his heart.—One month had scarce elapsed, since the unjust aggression of the Austrian army, when Vienna was bombarded, and compelled to open its gates and bow to our victorious arms.—The Austrian army of Italy soon perceived, that its flanks were uncovered, and felt the necessity of falling back; the Viceroy, who defeated the enemy on the banks of the Piave, on the Noric Alps, and in Carniola, pushed on to the frontiers of Styria, and formed a junction with the grand army. Shortly after he defeated the enemy in the interior of Hungary. The battle of Raab was the celebration of the memorable anniversary of Marengo, and Friedland; which induced the Emperor to write to his adopted son—'Your victory is a grand-daughter of Marengo.'—The scattered remains of the different enemy's corps could not have rallied, and would have been taken and disarmed, had not a fortuitous event, the rise of the Danube, which overflowed its banks, arrested the French army. The genius of war, and the efforts of art, overcame those unforeseen obstacles. In the profession of arms, it is at times necessary to join the courage and force of the lion to the cunning and prudence of the fox.—The battle of Wagram, followed by the armistice of Znaim, made the arms drop from the hands of the enemy; he had no other hope left than the generosity of the conquerors, which he had so often slighted.—By the peace of Vienna, France and her allies have obtained considerable advantages, and the Continent of Europe has regained tranquillity and peace. Let us hope that this peace will be more permanent than that of Presburgh, and that the men who deluded the Cabinet of Vienna, after the peace of Presburgh, will not succeed in deceiving it again after that of Vienna. They would pronounce the doom of their master; for France, ever great, powerful and strong, will always know how to destroy and counteract the combinations and intrigues of her enemies.—England has wasted considerable treasures; she has lost the flower of her army; she has revealed to the English nation the secret of the sentiments which attach the French to their Government and their Emperor. These are the only fruits of her foolish enterprise. Among the departments of ancient France, those of the Channel and the North, and among the new departments, that of the Lys, have distinguished themselves. Some districts of the Sarre only shewed a different disposition, instead of hastening to defend their country, they rose in open rebellion. His Majesty has ordered military commissions to try those evil-disposed citizens. A Counsellor of State has been sent thither to take the necessary depositions. The commune and private individuals who have thus misconducted themselves, shall be for fifteen years deprived of their rights of citizens, and shall be subjected to a double contribution; over their doors shall be written—'This is not a French Commune.'—His Majesty has also ordered plans to be laid before him of monuments, to be erected at Arras, Banger, and Lisle, tending to preserve the memory of sentiments, which have given him so much satisfaction.—But the momentous influence of the events of the year 1809, on the face of the world, attracts all our attention.

POLITICS.

The Duchy of Warsaw has been enlarged with a part of Gallicia. It would have been easy for the Emperor to unite all Gallicia with that state; but he would not do any thing which could excite the least uneasiness in the mind of his ally, the Emperor of Russia. Nearly all Gallicia of the first partition has been left to Austria. His Majesty never entertained the idea of restoring the kingdom of Poland. What the Emperor has done for New Gallicia was prescribed to him by sound policy as well as honour. He could not surrender to the vengeance of an implacable Prince, people who had displayed such fervent zeal for the cause of France.—A young Austrian Prince, the same who commanded in Ulm in 1805, as arrogant as he is ignorant and unacquainted with the art of war, did only know how to get himself defeated, with 40,000 men, by Prince Joseph Poniatowsky, who had only 13,000 under his orders. Through the unskilful combination of her General, Austria lost West Gallicia; the inhabitants of which shook off, with enthusiasm, the iron yoke which bore them down. It was the Emperor's duty not to subject them to it again. It is His Majesty's wish, that, under the wise Government of the King of Saxony, the

inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw secure their tranquillity, and enjoy their fortunate situation, without giving their neighbour any cause of uneasiness.—The Kings of Bavaria, Westphalia, Wurtembergh, and the rest of the Princes of the Confederation, will all obtain an accession of territory. It would undoubtedly have been easy for France to extend her frontiers beyond the Rhine; but that river remains the invariable limit of the neighbouring states and of her empire.—The Hanse Towns shall preserve their independence; they shall serve as a medium of the reprisals of war, with regard to England.—Peace shall immediately be concluded with Sweden. Nothing shall be changed in the political relations of the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Helvetic Confederacy. For the first time, since the days of the Romans, all Italy will again be subject to the same system. The re-union of the estates of Rome was requisite to effect this measure. They intersect the Peninsula from the Mediterranean as far as the Adriatic Sea; and history has evinced the importance of an immediate intercourse between Upper Italy and the kingdom of Naples.—Three centuries ago, whilst Charles VIII. was effecting the conquest of this kingdom, the Pope suddenly changing his opinion, formed a formidable league against him. The retreat of the King being intercepted, he could only return to France, by marching over the necks of the confederates, headed by the Pope.—But wherefore should we seek for examples in the history of Charles VIII.; of Louis XII.; of Francis I.? Have we not seen, in our days, the Pope protecting the English in his capital, who from this asylum, were agitating the kingdom of Naples, and the kingdom of Italy; distributing money and poignards to the assassins who slaughtered our soldiers in the vallies of Calabria? The Emperor has demanded of the Pope to shut his ports against the English; who could have thought that the Pope would have rejected his demand? He has proposed to him to form a league, offensive and defensive, with the kingdom of Naples and that of Italy. The Pope has rejected this proposal. No circumstance has occurred since the peace of Presburg, wherein the Court of Rome has not evinced its hatred against France. Whatever power happens to preponderate in Italy becomes immediately her enemy, hence before the battle of Austerlitz, before that of Friedland, the Emperor received from Rome briefs replete with acrimony.—We next beheld the Pope complaining of the principles of toleration, sacred by the code of Napoleon; we beheld him rise against the organic laws which governed the interior of the empire, and in which, under no title whatever, had he any right to interfere; we saw him cast firebrands in our provinces, and thus endeavour to occasion divisions in, and to shake the great empire; and it is not to be doubted what he would have done, had any important battle been lost. The Court of Rome has unveiled its secret sentiments too much. She has not been able to disown the services rendered by the Emperor to religion; but this motive of acknowledgment, which should have been so powerful over the Chief of the Church, could not overcome the hatred of the temporal sovereign. Convinced of these truths, sacred by the history of former times and by our own experience, the Emperor had only two ways to chuse—either to create a patriarchy, and separate France from every relation with a Power inimical to her, and which endeavoured to annoy her, or to destroy a temporal sovereignty, the only source of the hatred of the Court of Rome against France. The first measure would have occasioned dangerous discussions, and alarmed some consciences. The Emperor has rejected it. The second was the exercise of rights which are inherent to his Imperial Crown; and for which the Emperor is accountable to no one. The Emperor has adopted it. Neither the Pope, nor any other priest in the empire, ought to enjoy any temporal sovereignty. Never shall the Emperor acknowledge the right of the triple crown; he acknowledges only the spiritual mission given to the pastors of the church by Jesus Christ, and which St. Peter, and his pious successors, have so holily filled, to the great advantage of religion.—The kingdom of Naples, during the present year, has acquired a new consistency. The King has evinced peculiar attention in the organization of his dominions. He has re-established order in all the branches of administration. He has repressed peculation, and his people, from the highest class to the lowest, have manifested sentiments, which constituted their praise, and, at the same time, the praises of their Sovereign. The Clergy of Naples, composed like that of France, of enlightened men, has deserved the esteem of the

Emperor. The Archbishop of Naples has been the only ecclesiastic who refused the oath which he owed to the Sovereign. In vain have the Theologians endeavoured to convince him; he has persisted in his error. His uncommon ignorance has been the subject of satire among those by whom he had been raised to so elevated a rank. —Holland is, in fact, but a portion of France. This country is defined by saying that it is the *Alluvion* of the Rhine, of the Maese, and of the Scheldt; that is to say, of the main arteries of the empire; the nullity of its custom-houses, the dispositions of its agents, and the spirit of its inhabitants, which tends continually towards a fraudulent intercourse with England; all have combined to render the interdiction of the traffic of the Rhine and of the Weser, a duty. Holland, thus bruised between France and England, is deprived, both of the advantages contrary to our general system, and which she must renounce, as well as of those which she might enjoy. It is time that all this should be restored to its natural order. His Majesty has been pleased to insure also, in a conspicuous manner, the advantages of the Act of the Helvetic Confederacy, by annexing to his other titles, that of Mediator of Switzerland. It is enough to say to the Swiss, that happiness will be lost to them the moment that they touch this *Palladium* of their independence. The Pont de Bale has given frequent opportunities to the French troops for violating the Helvetic territory. It was necessary to them, in order to cross the Rhine. His Majesty has just ordered the building of a permanent bridge at Haningue. The Illyrian provinces cover Italy, afford it a direct intercourse with Dalmatia, procure us a point of immediate contact with the empire of Constantinople, which, for so many reasons, and ancient interests, France was desirous of maintaining and protecting. Both Spain and Portugal are the theatre of a furious revolution; the numerous agents of England stem and feed the fire which they have lighted. The strength, the power, and the calm moderation of the Emperor, will restore to them days of peace. Should Spain lose her colonies, it will be through her own inclination. The Emperor will never oppose the independence of the continental nations of America; this independence belongs to the necessary order of events; it is connected with justice; it is connected with the interest, well understood, of all the powers. France has established the independence of the United Estates of North America. France has contributed to its augmentation of several provinces. She will be always ready to defend her work; her power does not depend on monopoly; she has no interest contrary to justice; nothing that can contribute to the happiness of America, can be against the prosperity of France, who will always be rich enough when she will see herself treated upon an equal footing by all nations, and in all the European markets.—Whether the people of Mexico and Peru wish to be united to the metropolis, or whether they desire to erect themselves into an exalted and noble independence, France will never oppose it, provided these people do not form any connection with England. France has no need to vex her neighbours, nor to impose tyrannical laws on them, to ensure her commerce and prosperity.—We have lost the colonies of Martinique and Cayenne. They have both been badly defended. The circumstances which have deprived us of them, are an object of a severe inquiry; not that their loss is of any weight in the scale of general affairs, for they will be restored to us, in a more flourishing condition, at the time of peace, than they were at the time when they were taken.—To conclude, peace has brought back again the Emperor among us. All the Estate-bodies have laid down their homages at the foot of his throne. His answer is engraved on your hearts. That Monarch, who excites the greatest admiration, the greatest enthusiasm, is he who is also worthy of more love. He has said so to us; He places, on that which he inspires, all his hopes of happiness. Frenchmen, he, then, has once been deceived, when he has asserted, that other princes had been happier than he.

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